15¢ JUNE 27, 1949

# New Republic

A.N.C.

## BRITISH LABOUR TAKES STOCK A REPORT FROM BLACKPOOL By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

- **POST-MORTEM ON PARIS:** AN EDITORIAL
- **ISRAEL'S THEATRE: NEW FRONTIER** By HAROLD CLURMAN
- **HAROLD L. ICKES: REP. MORRIS OUT OF BOUNDS**

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## on *Literature* and *The Arts*

### Books in Review

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### Movies

If you go to enough movies, you are bound to hit a good one now and then. You can save yourself time and money, however, by letting a critic you trust weed the garden for you. Most *New Republic* readers have found that Robert Hatch likes the kind of pictures they enjoy themselves.

### Music

An editor of *Musical America,* Cecil Smith is in the very center of the current music world. Every fortnight he selects from the concerts, records or musical events and personalities of the moment the information a well-posted reader will find essential. Mr. Smith is both a critic and a journalist and his columns are a combination of informed opinion and reliable news, often unobtainable elsewhere.

### Radio and Television

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### Theatre

Harold Clurman, after a series on the Paris theatre, is writing now from Israel, where he is guest director of the Habimah Company. He cables that he will be home in time to cover the opening of "Miss Liberty." Mr. Clurman is one of the leading directors of the modern American stage and his active work in the theatre makes him at once a sympathetic, perceptive and severe observer of an art he loves and thoroughly understands.

### Fine Arts

No more penetrating or controversial art critic than Lincoln Kirstein is writing regularly today. His monthly essays in the *NR* show a faculty, enjoyed by few contemporaries, for relating everything that interests him in the field of art to the recurring problems of our generation. He is not an artist's critic, nor a critic's critic; he addresses himself to everyone concerned by the perplexing currents of modern thought.

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New Republic

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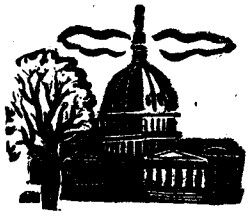
# WASHINGTON WIRE

OUR MAN TRUMAN didn't do so badly last week. Probably the chief job of a President is to give moral leadership. He gave it. On Friday he took a terrific swipe at the real-estate lobby. We loved every one of its 5,000 words. The point about it is that we are on the one-yard line for a public-housing score after five years. The Senate has passed a reasonably good compromise bill; the House takes it up this week. We think that this time it is going to put it over the line.



Earlier, Truman went after the Red-scare "hysteria." He is a man who fumbles with his words. There is something he has been trying to say for months; yes, 'way back in the election. He kept referring ambiguously to the Communist scare as a "red herring." He never did manage to make his point clear. Then at his press conference last week, with the assistance of practically the entire crew of reporters present and as much by pauses, hesitations and ellipses as by what he said, he finally got it out.

There have been postwar scares like this, he said in effect, after each crisis in our history. The hysteria has always subsided and the country has not gone to hell. (He used the word "hell.") He is aware of the situation now and isn't going to let the executive department get out of hand. For the House Un-American Activities Committee he has only contempt.

Finally they asked him about demi-god J. Edgar Hoover. Did Truman "confer" with Hoover often? Truman answered wtih simple dignity that he conferred with Hoover through his superior, the Attorney General. But, insisted a reporter, "Does Hoover have your confidence?" There followed one of the most expressive pauses we have heard in a long time, and then Truman answered kindly and obliquely. Hoover has done a good job, he said. Honest, folks, we came away from the White House feeling pretty good about the little man inside it.

**We have an idea** that one of the biggest things that happened in Washington last week was something that hardly got into the papers. It was a dissenting opinion by Justice Douglas in the Standard Oil of California case. "The economic theories which the Court has read into the anti-trust laws have favored rather than discouraged monopoly," the opinion began. "As a result of the big business philosophy underlying [certain cases], big business has become bigger and bigger. Monopoly has flourished. Cartels have increased their hold on the nation. The trusts wax strong. There is less and less place for the independent."

Douglas built his dissenting opinion on facts dug up by the old 1941 TNEC investigation of which he was part. That survey showed extraordinary concentration of economic power. Now the TNEC revelations are all but forgotten, yet the facts are still there. Indeed, Douglas says, the situation is probably growing worse. Here are some more excerpts:

> The full force of the anti-trust laws has not been felt in our economy. It has been deflected. Niggardly interpretations have robbed these laws of much of their efficacy. . . . When it comes to monopolies built in gentlemanly ways—by mergers, purchases of assets or control and the like—the teeth have largely been drawn from the Act. . . . It is more and more an age of "monopoly competition." . . . The lessons Brandeis taught on the curse of bigness have largely been forgotten in high places. . . . The Court [in this decision] approves what the anti-trust laws were designed to prevent. It helps remake America in the image of the cartels.

Justice Douglas couldn't comment, of course, on the current economic crisis. But the fact is that the cost of living isn't falling enough to balance

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deflation elsewhere. Prices of manufactured goods, economists bemoan, are "sticky." Why? Largely monopoly control. Whether the so-called "recession" deepens into depression now depends mainly on whether monopolies succeed in keeping wages down and prices up.

**Washington will be** no place for accurate prophecy this month and you had better discount any positive predictions you see. This is because rival and conflicting tides are finally meeting. The crisis of the legislative session is at hand. Congress, desperately seeking to avoid a deficit, has heretofore thought that the line of least resistance ran through cuts in foreign aid and defense.

But the big tide of "economy" is meeting a new counter-tide of "spend-for-recovery." The big drive to cut ECA is slowed by the belated discovery that ECA finances exports of cotton, tobacco, wheat, butter, lumber and other commodities. (We predicted that discovery months ago, but some rather slow-minded Senators are just grasping it.)

Finally, the big drive to cut military spending is running into the failure of the Foreign Ministers' conference to end the Cold War definitely. If anybody can guarantee the outcome of the clash of these contending forces we will gladly hand over to him our Size Six Crystal Ball.

**Notes.** There should be a new cabinet member soon: the Hoover reorganization program lays the basis for a Secretary of Welfare. . . . Parents with college-age children can now readily tell good schools from bad by the way they are reacting to the "loyalty" hysteria.

Senator Downey (D, Calif.) has lost his fight to oust Reclamation Commissioner Michael Straus because the latter favors small farmers in giving irrigation aid. . . . Congratulations to the Americans for Democratic Action on getting able, liberal ex-Representative Charles M. LaFollette (R, Ind.) to serve as director.

*Washington* T. R. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Oslo Rebuttal

SIR: The article on Scandinavia and the Atlantic Pact, by Gunnar Fagrell, in your issue of March 14, contains so many misinterpretations and inaccuracies, especially in regard to Norway's attitude and policy, that it cannot be allowed to remain uncorrected.

1. Mr. Fagrell says that "a friendly agreement was reached between Norway and the Soviet Union over Spitsbergen."

At the end of 1946 the Soviet Union requested Norway to discuss a mutual-defense arrangement for Spitsbergen. Spitsbergen is demilitarized by agreement among all the Great Powers under the Treaty of 1920; this treaty was accepted without reservation by the Soviet Union in 1935. The Norwegian government answered that this was a matter which concerned all the signatories to the 1920 treaty, and that they were willing to discuss the question . . . with the other Powers involved. . . .

2. The suggestion that the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Lange, was "worked on" by the Western Powers is laughable to anyone knowing anything of his character. As the writer of the article seems to imply that he spent the war years with British and US diplomats, it may be mentioned that during most of them he was in the Sachenhausen concentration camp in Germany. . . .

3. The feeling that the three Scandinavian countries should remain together is very strong in Norway. Both the Premier and the Minister of Defense took part, along with Lange, in the discussions with Sweden and Denmark, where the greatest efforts were made to secure a joint Scandinavian defense policy. When he visited Washington in February, Lange did his utmost to see if it was possible to obtain a promise of US military supplies for a united Scandinavia which was not linked to the Western Powers, this being the only basis on which Sweden was prepared to enter a Scandinavian defense arrangement. The US State Department would not agree to provide military supplies, except after the needs of all the countries entering the Atlantic Pact were met—which in practice probably meant never. Under these circumstances there were no possibilities of a neutral Scandinavian defense pact. . . .

4. So long as there were possibilities of a neutral Scandinavian defense pact, there was doubt, especially in the Norwegian Labor Party, as to whether Norway should join the Atlantic Pact. But once it became clear that neutral Scandinavian defense was not possible, the policy of joining the Atlantic Pact has had practically unanimous support, both in the Labor Party and in the other parties—the Communists, who are naturally a Russian fifth column, of course excepted. . . .

HAAKON LIE, Secretary General,
*Oslo, Norway* Norwegian Labor Party

SIR: I had not intended to drag a Scandinavian internal dispute before the foreign public. It is understandable that Lie is anxious to stress the Norwegian point of view, but the result, unfortunately, answers statements that were not made. It is obvious from the answer that the Norwegian-Russian arrangement on Spitsbergen was peaceful and is not creating friction. A combined, direct Scandinavian presentation to Washington actually was not made, as Lange only negotiated for Norway, which Lie must know. It is precisely my belief that Norwegians, like Danes and Swedes, "strongly feel Scandinavia should remain together."

*Göteberg, Sweden* GUNNAR FAGRELL

### Wages in Britain

SIR: Aylmer Vallance, in his article, "The Wage Issue in Socialist Britain" (the *NR*, May 23, 1949), may have given your readers the impression that real wages are falling in Britain.

Here are the figures. In April, 1948, the index of weekly wage rates stood at 105, the interim index of retail prices at 108. The latest figures available give the wage index at 108 this March and the price index as 109 this April. When the slight increases in food prices announced by Sir Stafford Cripps are reflected in the price index, it will go up a further two points. Thus, both wages and prices will be up the same amount—three points.

During this year, however, the British worker and his family have enjoyed two massive benefits not reflected in either of the indices—a free National Health Service and a greatly expanded social-security program. They are therefore better off than a year ago.

Naturally, the workers want to improve their standards—high in European terms but low in American—still further. The government is telling them that this can be done only by higher and more efficient production. This is certainly true of railroads and coal. In these publicly owned industries there is no profit margin, and without increased efficiency, higher wages for those two groups of workers mean higher prices for all workers. . . .

*London, England* DAVID C. WILLIAMS

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# POST-MORTEM ON PARIS

THE LESSON of the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris is that the world is dominated by Washington—not the Washington of the State Department, nor of the White House, nor even of the American people, but the Washington of Capitol Hill and the political and economic influences that make themselves felt there.

The best that can be said of the results of the meeting was that it was better, far better, for the representatives of the West and of the East to have talked to one another, however inconclusively, across the table of diplomacy than it would have been for the governments of the Western and Eastern countries to have continued to grimace and rattle sabers from a distance.

The Council meeting was not, at least in that sense, a total failure: a diplomatic phase, for which there is as yet no name, has replaced an acute and acutely dangerous phase of the Cold War. Yet the Council meeting might have accomplished something more concrete; it might have been more than a technical draw; it might even have achieved a positive, though limited, success. The American press has played up Russia's responsibility for the failure, and certainly Russia must carry a heavy share of the blame. But the three Western powers were also intransigent. America's share of the blame not only reflects the attitude of Congress, but goes backward in time to the Presidential election.

When the Soviet government called for the Council meeting, or, more accurately, when it made the meeting a condition of lifting the Berlin blockade, it admitted that the policy symbolized by the blockade, and by aggressive pursuit of the Cold War, had proved to be a failure. As realists, the men in the Kremlin recognized that their brutal kind of *force majeure* had been unable to swerve the American government from the course that had led from the original get-tough-with-Russia policy through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan to the North Atlantic Pact.

The Americans had put aside temporarily the goal of a unified and neutralized German state; instead, they had helped to create a rather less than neutral Western German state at Bonn. With the adoption of a basic law, this state was becoming a going concern. As an offset, the Russians were paving the way for the Berlin All-German Congress; but they already knew what the elections in the Eastern zone were later to prove: they had lost, perhaps thrown away, their chance to win the German people. They were playing from a weak hand, they had lost one phase of the Cold War, and they were prepared to pay something for a compromise settlement.

Yet they would not have been ready to give if they had not also believed they would get something in return, and this belief was based on more than guesswork. A year ago the Russians expected Governor Dewey would be elected, and they rather welcomed the prospect, on the assumption that in John Foster Dulles they would have a more tractable opponent than the members of the Germany-First team who had taken over in the State Department after the death of President Roosevelt. But if November 2 disappointed them, the events of the succeeding months gave them reason for encouragement.

**Something new** was happening in Washington. Economists with progressive notions, heirs of the earlier stages of the New Deal, were acquiring greater influence than the men in the Pentagon Building. The proposal to send Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow was a straw in the wind. Economic realism showed itself in the administration of ECA: Paul Hoffman was a very different kind of capitalist from Herbert Hoover; Averell Harriman was more open-minded to the relationship between an American economic recession and East-West trade than William Draper. Bit by bit the Fair Dealers forged ahead of the cartelists.

Everything seemed to suggest that the American progressives, now in control in the White House, were also imposing on the State Department their view that an economic "arrangement" with the Russians was both desirable and necessary not only in terms of world peace but in the light of probable domestic developments in the United States. When Mao Tse-tung's Communist troops reached the bank of the Yang-tse, the Russians decided the time had come to talk business with the "new" Washington.

At the start of the Council meeting in Paris, Vish-

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insky addressed himself almost exclusively to Dean Acheson and through him to the "new" Washington. In essence the Russian proposal was for temporary stabilization of a politically divided Germany, a new West-East limited economic coöperation, and a modified four-power control of all Germany involving some Russian participation in the Ruhr. And this essence, though not the technical substance of the proposals, was based on what Moscow thought would be acceptable along broad lines in the "new" Washington.

But the answer that came was from the old Washington. This was in essence that since the West had won the Cold War politically, it needed no economic compromises; it could go ahead from one success to another; it could win Germany by holding the line of the North Atlantic Pact and using the integration of Western Germany into a Western European federation as the preface to the "Atlanticization" of all of Germany. The assumptions on which such a course is based are apparently that the Soviets are in such serious straits that they cannot react effectively; that an American recession is likely to be mild and short-lived; and that an "Atlantic" Germany will be both democratic and no security menace.

At the Paris conference the effect of this rebuff was to make the Russians shift from their limited economic offer to an unlimited political stand. For the first time—in their Berlin proposals—they brought out their view of the world situation: they consider themselves the equals in power of America plus Britain and France. With China on their side, perhaps most of Asia too, they count themselves at least one-half of the whole world.

The best sign for the future is the fact that the Paris meeting amounts to the start of a new phase rather than an isolated sequel to the old, not only with the promise of another gathering of Foreign Ministers but with the plain indication of continuing diplomatic contacts between those persons in Washington and Moscow who recognize mutual needs. Even before termination of the Paris sessions, there were suggestions that such contacts give reason to hope that the diehards won't succeed indefinitely in frustrating the Fair Dealers. The position did not change enough to make the conference a real success, though it prevented it from becoming a failure. The lesson therefore is that Soviet-American relations, which mean the future of the world's chances to make economic coöperation between West and East the preface to the solution of great political problems, are a matter of domestic American (and British) politics. It's up to progressive American opinion, acting through liberals on Capitol Hill and through labor, to strengthen the hope of world peace by frustrating efforts of reactionaries to transform the Cold War into perhaps an even more dangerous economic war.

## THE WEEK

### PLANS FOR '50 and '52

Both Democrats and Republicans are almost a full year ahead of the usual schedule in active campaigning for 1950. Originally planned as only a small-scale promotion for the new Brannan farm program, the Democrats' Des Moines meeting developed into an immensely successful kick-off to the whole 1950 campaign. Instead of merely inviting party officials and farmers of the 16 Midwestern states to hear Secretary of Agriculture Brannan explain the details of his plan for stabilizing farm income and cutting consumer prices, the canny Democratic National Committeemen from Kansas and Iowa, Carl Rice and Jake More, persuaded the national party officials that the Des Moines conference should be aimed boldly at nailing down the whole farm vote for 1950.

The substantial switch in farm votes from the Republican to the Democratic column in 1948 shattered recent political traditions in the corn and wheat belts and provided the margin of 37 electoral votes by which Truman was elected President. Secretary of Agriculture Brannan and Truman's top political leaders believe that Brannan's program for the farmers is the issue that will win again in 1952. If the Democrats have their way, the big issue in the agricultural areas will be the Republicans versus the Brannan farm program in next year's Congressional races as well as in the next Presidential election.

Labor performed so well in the 1948 Congressional elections that comparatively few industrial districts where organized labor is strong remain in Republican hands today. The states which were represented at the Des Moines meeting are the territory the Democrats must sweep in 1950. Almost half of all Republicans in the present House come from these states. One-half of all the Congressional districts of the country that were won by a margin of less than five percent of the votes in 1948—and thus become the main targets for 1950—are in this area. Nine Republican Senate seats in these 16 states will be at stake in 1950; only two Democratic ones. It is easy to see why the Democratic campaign focus next year will shift from the big cities of the East to the towns and farms of the Middle West.

The Democratic conference at Des

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Moines was the first attempt at practical farmer-labor unity on a nationwide scale since Populist days. The CIO, the AFL and the railroad workers' leaders sat down with Farm Bureau as well as Farmers' Union members and came out political partners. Whether or not the working farmers at Des Moines understood all the intricacies of Brannan's price proposals, they liked the sound of what they heard. The Democratic National Committee now plans to put this hit show on the road—the Pacific Coast, Ohio, Kansas, Colorado, and another Midwest sectional meeting are on the schedule.

**While the Democrats** were courting the farmers, the Republicans were staging their first 1950 rally in Los Angeles. National Chairman Hugh D. Scott Jr. assured the assembled GOP leaders of the 11 Western states that "the light, after 16 years of defeats, is beginning to dawn." The events of the two days of oratory which followed left some doubt as to the accuracy of this dictum. Senator Harry Cain, as keynoter, called on the voters to turn out the Democrats on the ground that the Democratic President and the Democratic majority in Congress are "actually doing everything within their power to prevent action on legislation in line with the pledges made by Mr. Truman and the Democratic platform of 1948." The Republicans have promised a Midwest farm conference of their own next month, complete with platform.

Cynics at the Des Moines conference insisted that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans want the Brannan program passed before the next election: the Democrats for fear it won't work; the Republicans for fear it will.

## PHIL MURRAY AND THE OATH

Philip Murray and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are ready to abandon their fight against reënactment of the Taft-Hartley non-Communist-affidavit section in any new labor law. The effects are to leave John L. Lewis as the only powerful union leader still defying the affidavit on grounds of principle and to place all hope of relief in the courts.

The first sign of CIO retreat came when the executive board recently repeated its opposition to certain T-H provisions but made no mention of the non-Communist oath. Murray would not admit publicly that this signified a sharp change, but the meaning was obvious. It was not a coincidence that two weeks later A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, previously a holdout, signed an affidavit, confessing that he had been coerced into a repugnant act.

It is not yet clear whether Murray is personally prepared to sign a non-Communist affidavit. The union's contracts with the steel companies, however, are about to expire, and he cannot obtain a renewal of any union-security clause unless he signs an affidavit or the Taft-Hartley Act is revised so as to eliminate the necessity of such oaths. Murray's way out may be to accept a T-H amendment eliminating the requirement of affidavits from union leaders in cases where the union constitution itself forbids Communists from holding office. If this compromise fails, then he may be driven to make his obeisance in order to maintain the solidarity of his union.

**The question** of constitutionality remains. Can Congress legally require a special oath of political orthodoxy before citizens can use an ordinary instrumentality of the government—in this case the National Labor Relations Board? The question remains whether our democracy can find security in a rash of laws compelling non-Communist affidavits by union leaders, businessmen, teachers, local-government employees, college students, and pos-

"Hey—they went that way!"

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sibly even additional groups. The CIO has cases before the Supreme Court challenging the T-H affidavit section. The Court, therefore, becomes the last line of defense against the loyalty-oath dementia.

## CANADA'S ELECTION

*OTTAWA (NR correspondent)*

Canada's general-election campaign shows signs that the Liberal administration which has been in power since 1935 will win again on June 27. The big question is whether the Liberals can return to Parliament with a majority of the 262 seats in the House of Commons, or whether for the first time since the twenties they may have to govern while being no more than the single largest minority bloc. Such a situation might cause instability in Canadian politics, despite the fact that all major parties are agreed on such issues as the North Atlantic Pact, increased social-security measures and the necessity of obtaining wider markets for Canadian exports.

Campaign interest centers around personalities rather than issues. Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, the 67-year-old Quebec lawyer who entered politics only eight years ago, is leading the Liberals. He is the chosen successor of Mackenzie King, who, after heading the Liberals since 1919, resigned as Prime Minister last November. St. Laurent, as Minister of Justice in King's cabinet, was the man who dealt ruthlessly with suspects in the 1946 Russian spy case by arresting them secretly and without warrant and having them cross-examined by a special commission before they were brought to trial. Clever, urbane and frequently witty, he has developed quickly as a politician and his erect figure and silver hair make him an impressive performer.

The Conservative Party also enters the election with a new leader, George Drew, former Premier of Ontario. During the last ten years he has been the only Conservative politician to have an impressive record of successes, attributable to considerable skill, boundless energy and a love of colorful invective in describing his opponents. Drew is an imperialist of the Churchill school and was a leader in the campaign for all-out conscription during the war.

A weird aspect of this election is the practical alliance between Drew and the anti-British elements in Quebec Province who have joined forces to break the political monopoly of Quebec that the Liberal Party has had in federal elections, a hold comparable to the Democrats' control of the US South. Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis, who went into temporary eclipse in 1939 when he opposed Canadian participation in the war, has thrown the support of his provincial political machine behind the Conservatives. Neutrals estimate, however, that the alliance will fail. It is not expected that the Conservatives can win much more than half a dozen of the 73 Quebec seats, if that many.

Canada's Socialist Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (better known as the CCF), is expected to increase slightly its present 32 seats in the House of Commons. It has the endorsement of the Canadian Congress of Labor (350,000 members), representing both CIO and national unions. Some of the AFL unions in Canada have also declared their support. There is much speculation as to how far the CCF would go in supporting the Liberals if the latter were returned with a minority government, as well as just what sort of bargain a Liberal minority government would be willing to strike with a strong CCF bloc holding a balance of power in Parliament.

## EISENHOWER ON EDUCATION

General Dwight D. Eisenhower couldn't have picked a more critical moment to announce his firm opposition to federal aid to education. The Senate-passed bill was lodged in the House Subcommittee on Education and its opponents were running short of support. During the hearings, Representative Graham Barden (D, N.C.) had spent most of the time trying to convince committee members that the Senate bill really constituted federal control of state and local educational programs. The unexpected backing of Eisenhower was all he needed.

"Unless we are careful," the General said, "even the great and necessary educational process in our country will become yet another vehicle by which believers in paternalism, if not outright socialism, will gain still additional power for the central government." By a vote of 10 to 3, the subcommittee favorably reported the Barden bill—a weak version of the Senate measure—to the full committee. (The Senate bill provides that the states must meet certain educational standards set up by the Federal Office of Education in order to receive the funds; Barden's proposal gives the states a free hand.)

**At the time** of General Ike's statement, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was holding hearings on federal aid to school construction. His words were challenged by Senators Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) and Robert Kerr (D, Okla.). Morse, speaking as an alumnus of Columbia University, now headed by Eisenhower, said that "a background of leadership in military affairs is not to my mind the background for making pronouncements on the public-school system." Senator Kerr observed: "Without federal aid our roads would be of little use to the military, and the same principle applies to human resources."

Eisenhower's strategy in making statements on controversial issues (the week before, he had joined 19 other educators in stating flatly that Communists should not be allowed to teach in America today) may have long-range implications. The Washington *Times-Herald* (Patterson-McCormick offspring) came up with a "happy, sneaking suspicion" that General Ike can be counted on as Presidential timber and, by way of support, concluded:

"We could do with an individual-liberty, conservative, strong-America man in the White House, and 1952 isn't so far away. Keep talking, Ike."

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# OUTSIDE AMERICA

**When, at Paris,** Dean Acheson held firm against Andrei Vishinsky on the issue of "On from Bonn" against "Back to Potsdam" he was presumably (and professedly) fighting the good fight of democracy against totalitarianism. Yet whether Bonn will evolve in fact into a true democracy seems not quite so sure as Acheson and his British and French colleagues implied during the long discussion.

The argument of the Westerners in Paris touched lightly on the political realities of Bonn, stressing what Acheson called the economic facts: since the reform of the currency a year ago, industrial production in Bizonia has risen from about 50 percent of 1936 to more than 90 percent; much more and better food is available; living conditions seem better; and business is booming. Dean Acheson was in fact defending the new and presumably healthy capitalist economy of Bonn. But he didn't mention the price of this economy. Unemployment has risen from about 500,000 to about 1,250,000—something like 10 percent of Bizonia's workers.

In recent months there had been signs that progressive men in the government in Washington were trying (and with some small success) to turn away from the Clay-Draper course and to break the grip of the German cartelists. More recently—as a matter of fact, during the Council meeting in Paris—there were indications of a new lease on life for the cartelists. The London *New Statesman* suggests what Acheson saved when he resisted Vishinsky:

> It is monopolist capitalism and not Western Germany which has made an amazing recovery. . . . [There is a] growing belief that the Western democracies have nothing to offer but anti-Bolshevism, and that this in Germany can only mean some new form of right-wing nationalism. . . . It is a picture which bears more than a little resemblance to that of the early twenties. . . .

The key to the shift back to cartelist capitalism in Germany seems to lie in the attitude of American business and finance toward Western Europe. The Fair Dealers may have suffered their setback because President Truman was told that the stake now was all of Western Europe rather than Germany, and the necessary next goal giving freedom of action to a pattern of recovery that might successfully contradict the principles of anything resembling socialism.

**The economic** problem in Western Europe is no longer production—it is trade, the means of disposing of the products coming out of Western European factories thanks to Marshall Plan help. In 1948 the Marshall Plan countries cut imports from the US and Canada by nearly $1,000 million, but exports to the US and Canada rose by only $150 million, and the balance with the US remained about $2,300 million. There are only three ways by which the US can cope with the problem of a settlement: building up European exports; cutting down American exports to Europe; continuing to lend money to Europe. The first way —building up European exports— means essentially exports from Western Europe to Eastern Europe.

The Fair Dealers in Washington accepted this solution. Now even ECA (which previously was moving toward the Fair Dealers' viewpoint) is shifting the emphasis from West-East European trade to a kind of intra-West European trade that is intended to save Western European economy for American-type capitalism. Worried by signs of recession at home, American manufacturers and businessmen not only want Western European goods kept out of the US and Latin America; at a time when the basic Western European economic problem is what to do with manufactured products, the Americans want to ship more American goods to Western Europe. And Truman, desperately needing the votes which these businessmen can muster in Congress, has apparently sacrificed a sensible international solution to practical domestic political expediency.

The possible effects of the sacrifice of West-East European trade to a new version of economic America-Firstism are disturbing, to say the least. If the Western European nations can't ship their goods to the East, if US and US-controlled markets are pretty well closed to them, and especially if they have to face American competition in their own markets, each of them will develop a tendency toward the fascist type of self-sufficiency and use every trick of old-fashioned nationalism in fighting for trade in the world market.

While the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers was bogging down, another meeting, also in Paris, was coming to no good end because of the position taken by the Americans. This was the gathering of the consultative group of ministers of the OEEC (the Marshall Plan countries) at which, as the London *Economist* puts it:

> The American initiative and the European resistance to it are the symbol of a basic clash in economic philosophies which henceforth is likely to occupy more and more of OEEC's attention. . . . The American proposal would have forced Europe to face this issue immediately, since it would have thrown open the European markets . . . to American competition.

The *Economist* is a right-wing publication, as ardently anti-Soviet as any in England. The Western European cabinet ministers who unanimously voted down the American proposal aren't pro-Soviet, or even—in most cases—Socialist. And the issue between Acheson and Vishinsky at Paris wasn't simply democracy against totalitarianism. It was whether the Americans who dominate American business (and Capitol Hill) want the phase after the Cold War to be an economic armistice for the sake of the whole world (the American people included) or a new and dangerous economic war on behalf of American-type capitalism.

PERCY WINNER

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# LEFT OF CENTER

THE CIO AND THE AFL are concentrating on turning out the vote in Dixie in 1950. The AFL sponsored the "Good Citizenship Award Contest" to encourage persons to pay their poll tax in Virginia. To stimulate voting in the August primary, nine awards will be distributed in a "Congressional District Award Contest." The targets are 46 Southern Representatives who in 1948 were unopposed for reëlection. The unions are seeking candidates, according to Labor's League for Political Education, preferring "an ex-GI who really wants to win and who will put everything he has into the campaign." This attitude may strengthen relations between labor's organized political machinery and the veterans' unorganized sentiment that since 1946 has shown sporadic activity and achieved some surprising successes.

In the Senate, labor's principal effort will be to reëlect five friends—Brien McMahon of Connecticut, Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania, Wayne Morse of Oregon, Claude Pepper of Florida, and Lister Hill of Alabama—and to defeat four enemies, Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Homer E. Capehart of Indiana, Eugene B. Millikin of Colorado, and Forrest C. Donnell of Missouri. Labor has not succeeded in persuading Representative Tom Burke of Toledo to make the run against Taft. The AFL is ready to support Governor Frank Lausche. (Lausche has not had consistently good relations with organized labor, but probably can get trade-union support if he makes a pro-labor campaign against Taft.)

**Explaining why** he is not exercised over the trial of the 12 Communists, Irving Abramson, Eastern regional representative of the CIO, sent a lengthy letter to George Morris, labor editor of the *Daily Worker*. Abramson recalls the trial and conviction of 18 Trotskyists under the Smith Act and how the Communists made every effort to prevent the organized labor movement from assisting the defendants. Abramson reports the correspondence between Louis Weinstock, Communist leader in the Painters' Union, and Tom Clark in which the Communist asked the Attorney General for arguments and evidence to "satisfy some of those doubting Thomases we have around here" who wished to defend the Trotskyists. Abramson's letter was not printed in the *Daily Worker*. It was printed in the Trotskyist *Militant*, which, by the way, is opposed to the indictment of the Stalinist 12.

**J. Strom Thurmond,** Governor of South Carolina, was the victim of a filibuster recently when he attempted to eliminate Isaac L. Hyatt, member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, from the five-man state industrial commission. A filibuster against his nominee, Miss Faith Clayton, forced the Governor to reverse his decision.

**The Democratic Party** went after the farm vote at a Midwest conference June 12-13 at Des Moines, Iowa, with nine Democratic Governors present. National Committee members stayed until June 14 to confer with state leaders on political policy for 1950. The keynoter was Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan. Kits of published material and radio transcriptions were given to the Democratic leaders to enable them to carry the proceedings of the conference back to ward and precinct leaders in the farm states.

**J. Howard McGrath,** in his capacity as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent out an urgent call to the citizens to get in touch with their congressmen. After listing six major lobbyists and their expenses: Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., $149,066; National Association of Electric Companies, $136,509; National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, $130,969; American Medical Association, Chicago, $115,248; General Electric Company, $91,075; National Association of Real Estate Boards, $39,344, he says, "One three-cent stamp and half an hour writing a personal letter to tell a congressman where he stands will carry more weight with most congressmen than the expensive activities of the anti-Fair Deal lobbies."

**A merger** of the two Socialist groups —the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation—was defeated by a close vote at the SDF's recent convention in Newark. A motion was passed, however, "to instruct the new National Executive Committee to confer with the Socialist Party on the feasibility of a merger."

**A labor man,** Michael Harris, formerly a district director of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, has been named chief of ECA in Sweden.

**The Presbyterian churches,** at a general assembly meeting in Buffalo, passed a resolution condemning segregation in churches based on race or nationality and further condemned "all organizations that seek to limit the opportunities and rights of any group on account of color or creed."

**The conservative** National Grange has endorsed legislation to extend social-security coverage to both farm operators and farm workers.

**A Fabian essay** entitled "Labor Politics in the U. S.," written by Mark Starr, Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is one of the best recently published summaries of American trade-union politics.

**"Home of the Brave,"** unusual Hollywood film on race relations, is described in the columns of the *Daily Worker* as a "film that can be dangerous" whose "only purpose is to reinforce the oppression of the Negro people."

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# BRITISH LABOUR TAKES STOCK

**by Michael Straight**

BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND

THE FULL IMPACT of postwar dislocation is breaking now in Britain. New setbacks, beyond Britain's control, undermine her government, which at home is on firm ground.

Now, and in coming months, Labour as a government must make bitter and thankless decisions for the people while as a political party it seeks their support for the approaching general election. For Labour, this conflict is hard to resolve. It has preached socialism as a means of raising living standards. Now it must practise a socialism in which living standards are checked and may decline. It has taken power on the doctrine that while the laws of production of wealth are self-governing, the laws of distribution of wealth are man-made and can be altered to provide a just society. Now it must govern in the knowledge that distribution is largely fixed and that more production is the way to salvation.

In these hard times other parties might conceal the conflict between governing and electioneering by delaying unpleasant decisions, creating fake optimism and conjuring up foreign devils. But British Labour has chosen the high road. "Telling the people," its election program declares, "even telling them what they do not want to know, enables the nation to summon forth its strength, conscious of its needs and aware of its resources." So the Labour Party demonstrates that British voters are among the world's most mature, and that it is foremost among the world's political parties.

Britain is a highly industrialized nation. The Labour Party is a class party of its workers. In contrast with the major parties in America it is uniform in its character, unanimous in its objectives, centralized in its direction. Generations of hard struggle give it a rich tradition. The integration of the intellectual in political life in Britain gives it clarity. Yet it contains deep contradictions. Three major groups make up the party—the trade unions, the coöperative movement, and the constituency labor parties. Among these groups some tension must exist. The Socialists in the constituency parties ring the doorbells and provide most of the leadership. The trade unions pay the bills and dominate the conferences. The workers, with some envy and suspicion, tend to look on the intellectuals as flighty and ignorant of basic realities. The intellectuals tend to see the workers preoccupied with economics and unresponsive to new ideas.

These conflicts have led to bitter battles in Labour Party conferences in the past. This year, at the Blackpool conference, the imminence of the election and vastness of the problems that confront the government held internal disputes to a low simmer. Dockers, railway workers and some miners were out on strike when the conference convened. But Aneurin Bevan, the fiery rebel behind whom alone all other rebels can rally, joined forces at once with the party's Center and Right and, at Blackpool's opening meeting, chided the strikers for lack of moral courage.

Bevan, Michael Foot and Emanuel Shinwell, the left wing of the Executive Committee, joined the majority to vote for the expulsion of Konni Zilliacus, the violent critic of Ernest Bevin's foreign policy. Harold Laski allowed his protests to be muffled. A small band of parliamentary radicals supported the right of Zilliacus to dissent; but the vote for expulsion was overwhelming. And for the first time, Bevin found overwhelming support for his foreign policy. Zilliacus, a Labour Party member for thirty years, left, threatening to "blow the blithering idiots on the leadership out of the water." But the water closed over him. He was forgotten by the next day, when the real debate, on how to raise production, began.

**At once,** the economic program of the government was placed on trial. The delegates knew that Sir Stafford Cripps's grim budget, grimly presented on the eve of the municipal elections, had cost the Labour Party many Council seats. ("We who are about to die salute you," one woman canvasser had wired Cripps.) They know that the Conservatives will fully exploit the natural resentments of the British people and their natural longing for assurance of happier days. The delegates applauded passionate appeals that somehow the government recognize the demands of workers for higher real wages, and when at last Cripps spoke in the cold language of statistics they listened silently, hoping still for some promise of an easy way out that they could carry back to their membership: knowing that from Cripps, who has stripped his post bare of rhetoric or illusion, they would get none.

Cripps spoke for a government that, in four years, has nationalized the coal, transportation and utility industries, and the Bank of England; that has provided a national health service for all citizens; that has raised the school-leaving age; that has revived production, ex-

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panded capital investment at a record rate and without increased debt; that has raised exports far above prewar levels and yet held the price line by food subsidies of $3 a week for every British family. "We are the most virile democracy in the world," Cripps told the delegates, but he added:

> We have reached a very tough spot in the journey and the economic barometer is not rising. . . . Our overseas trading is becoming more and more difficult. . . . The initial postwar advantages of great shortages and a sellers' market are nearly over; many of our customers are themselves in difficult circumstances. . . . Dollars are becoming more difficult to earn . . . and yet we must balance our dollar trade within three years. . . . You cannot find any solution by juggling with money incomes or finances. . . . We need and must have more and more efficient production if we are to solve our difficulties without loss of standards.

No promises to the workers—instead, demands upon them. Yet the conference upheld Cripps by an almost unanimous vote. In four days of argument, it went on to explore every way out.

One way seemed to strengthen Britain's foreign position: to increase trade with the Soviet world; to settle the cold war; to reclaim the 750,000 men in uniform "wasting the substance of Britain," as one delegate said. But trade with the Soviet world is expensive, and limited in scope. Britain's overseas garrisons can at best be slowly reduced. As for the cold war, Ernest Bevin flew in from Paris to report on negotiations. Bevin, the roaring boss who used to lift the conference to the level of his own high spirit, had nothing to report, and seemed more like a tired swimmer who knows that he will not make the shore. The best that he could offer was European union, backed by American support. But in the minds of all the delegates a new fear was rising—that America will not check its deepening recession.

**There is no visible** external solution for Britain's urgent economic problems; nor within Britain's closed economy does the financial "juggling" that Cripps scorned hold out any hope. Lower prices were promised to the unions in exchange for voluntary wage stabilization. But with labor and materials devoted to plant expansion and exports, consumer goods must remain scarce. Farm prices have been raised by government action to encourage output. "You can't get into a Protest Starvation meeting of the farmers these days," said a journalist, "without fighting your way through the bloody Rolls Royces." Increased wages have forced the prices of nationalized products sharply upward, and since these industries are running at losses, wages can hardly be raised further. Subsidies, increased from $800 million in 1945 to $2,000 million in 1948, as the terms of trade got worse, have held prices in check.

But subsidies cannot be raised indefinitely. Already the price differentials between controlled essential goods and uncontrolled luxury goods (in which Cripps included radios and vacuum cleaners) have shifted resources into luxury industries. To encourage production, controls were lifted from clothing and shoes. And though production increased, it did not benefit the workers for whom lack of income, not lack of coupons, limited consumption.

Profits, which Cripps himself described as "frightfully high," seem an obvious source of wealth for redistribution. Yet profits that are distributed in dividends are already taxed away, and undistributed profits are largely directed by controls on materials, into needed investment. A capital levy is a possibility. But already one "once and for all" levy has been completed in the life of this Parliament.

One way to cut costs and prices is to cut distributive margins. In the course of an entire day's debate, the executive promised action to reorganize the distribution of fruit and vegetables: to tighten the existing government control of all wholesale meat purchases; to nationalize cold-storage plants and sugar refineries; to encourage competition among retailers, and to aid housewives by bulk purchases and Consumers' Advice Centers. But these actions Cripps describes as "small mercies," and the delegates themselves were divided.

There remains only the increased individual productivity and elimination of unnecessary labor that Cripps called for. Here again the delegates challenged the government's action in maintaining managers from the old regimes, in overpaying officials, in abolishing controls, in taxing necessities, in failing to nationalize more industries and in failing to turn nationalized industries over to full workers' control. For the executive Aneurin Bevan replied:

> We have criticized the management and administration of the nationalized industries. Remember, this is the first time that it has been, or could be, criticized. . . . Whenever an abstract idea is married to contemporary reality, compromise must be made; all the complaints are negligible compared to the massive achievement of nationalization. . . .
>
> The trade union delegations talk of too much supervision. . . . When the conscience of the worker is his supervisor then you will need no supervisors. . . . Service as well as reward must be the spirit of our nationalization. . . . We are entitled to expect from workers everywhere a sense of spiritual dedication. . . .
>
> Delegates have barely mentioned the problems of private enterprise. . . . Why's that? It is of no advantage at all to the socialist that private enterprise should languish. . . .

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How much can government do? Partly it is a matter of new techniques in social psychology; the systematic removal of frictions in factories and mines; the systematic development of incentives to work harder. In all this the coöperation of the unions and the workers themselves is essential, but hard to win.

The unions were built on the principle of winning more pay for less work. The notion that a union organizer should be paid by his men to make them work more for less pay is hard to swallow. The older union officials tend to recline in life tenure, while the young leaders lack ability, now that the trade-union movement is no longer the only outlet for creative ability in the working class. Now that the government is "we" and not "they," strikes are a moral offense and occur very rarely. But raising output, and stripping an industry of thousands of redundant but duespaying men smacks of the still meaningful epithet: class collaboration.

**Behind the unions** stand the rank and file. Only a Labour Government could evoke from them a new response. Yet even from a Labour Government, years of want and inequality make it hard to fashion a new crusade for greater effort for a society still predominantly capitalist. The legacy of this society, class-ridden and Tory-ruled, is still suspicion in every worker's mind. "The fear in every man of working himself out of a job is," as Bevan said, "a brake on every industry." During generations of neglect and decay the workers of Britain dreamed of socialism. But they dreamed that on the day the workers took power, the slums would somehow turn into bright communities; the hidden hoard of capitalist treasure would be unearthed and divided among all; the age of plenty would come.

The lot of the British worker has improved greatly under the Labour Government; yet a secret disappointment somehow rankles. Extremes of poverty and wealth are narrowed. But poverty persists, and, beside it, privilege. Despite prohibitive taxation, the wealthy are able, by spending capital, to maintain unequal standards. The farm worker is still expected to speak only when he is spoken to. The absence of dollars in the national treasury is an unintelligible abstraction to the average worker; but the presence of the boss's car in the factory yard is a sharp reminder of continued class distinction. The payment of millions in compensation to former mine owners, while the miner's children cherish pennies, stokes old fires of resentment and cynicism.

Nationalization permits, but does not provide, a solution. Higher taxes, lower salaries, the abolition of residual privileges in education and elsewhere may help, but are not the real answer. The solution is no longer principally in Parliament, but within the shops and mills; within the men. The outward revolution is nearly complete; the inner revolution has yet to come.

How will it come? *Labour believes in Britain* summoned the people as Britons to a new Elizabethan Age. But: "Labour believes in more than Britain," a delegate replied. The older laborites demanded a return to a pioneering faith. But the leadership was strangely silent in response, knowing at heart that the problem is, instead, to liberate the people from outworn formulas in search of a new synthesis. Herbert Morrison declared, "Our new economy needs a new social driving force; we must set ourselves more than materialistic aims."

**Richard Acland,** former head of the Common Wealth movement, carried this doctrine to an appeal for the introduction of religion into public life. Aneurin Bevan, the agnostic, matched Acland's spirit with another kind of religious fervor. At the end of an unprepared speech that brought the delegates, roaring with laughter and shouting assent, to the edges of their chairs, Bevan suddenly mined a new vein:

> We seem almost to be rebuked for the absence of a spiritual approach. But suspect those who speak of religion in abstract terms. Never in the history of mankind have the best of religious ideas found greater expression than in the program we have carried out. "Suffer little children to come unto me" is no longer something to be said just from the pulpit. We have weaved it into the warp and woof of our national life. . . .
>
> What is national planning but the insistence that human beings make ethical choices on a national scale? The language of priorities is the religion of socialism. Our great movement, far from going with head bowed, should raise its head to the stars. Our programs are but the prosaic instruments of a great design.

These intense phrases reflect not only the short-range concern of the Labour Party for greater output but its long-range determination that the present concentration on production shall not be permitted to lead to a socialist materialism. Meanwhile, as the new horizons form, the embattled Labour Party will strive to repeat the American experience of 1948, dramatizing the dangers of a return to conservatism and so holding power and gaining time.

Judging by its spirit at Blackpool, the Labour Party will come through. Its great threat is not the ability of the British Conservatives, but the inability of American liberals to take the lead in policies to prevent the growth of unemployment over here. With characteristic good humor the delegates remark: "It's about time we cooked up a Bevin plan for the Yanks."

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# HAROLD L. ICKES: Representative Morris Out of Bounds

EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY is redundant with tales of attacks against the whites by Indians. Apparently they were just as determined to defend themselves from trespassers as we would have been.

It has been many years now since we have had to fight off warlike Indians. On the contrary, for many decades the Indians have been called upon to defend from rapacious whites the insignificant amount of property that we have grudgingly permitted to them to ward off starvation. We have continued to grab the best Indian properties that we could find. After coercing the Indians to agree to their spoliation and uprooting, we have cynically broken our solemn pledges. Upon one pretext or another, we have continued to raid the Indian estate as we have found another morsel of land, or immemorial right, out of which some rapacious white believes that he can make a profit.

As I have already written, Secretary Krug of Interior, although he is presumed to be the guardian of Indian rights, has actually been so faithless as to send a bill to Congress which would despoil the Indians of Alaska of practically all of the possessory rights that are still theirs by immemorial usage. This obnoxious bill is still pending, although the hard-pressed Indians have not yet given up hope that President Truman, with a more humane spirit and sense of justice, will sternly overrule his aberrant Secretary of the Interior.

Now there has come to light another attempted vicious raid against the Indians of Oklahoma. Representative Toby Morris, of that state, has introduced H. R. 4877 to take, without their consent, lands held in trust for the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes. Of course this proposed steal has the support of Senator Elmer Thomas. The land, some 320 acres, has already been turned over to the Fort Sill Indian school. The principal of the school, James D. Wallace, is on record as saying that the possession of this land for educational purposes is of tremendous importance to the Indian children as affording them an opportunity to acquire knowledge in the fundamentals of agriculture.

This coveted Indian land adjoins the city of Lawton. Representative Morris lives on the road that separates it from Lawton. The bill was written in obscure language, perhaps for the purpose of sneaking it through Congress without putting the Indians on notice. Certainly no adequate notification was given to the Indians of this burglarious measure. While in Washington on other business, a group of them discovered it quite by chance. If enacted, the bill would actually confer upon the city of Lawton the sovereign right of the United States to condemn, for local purposes, land belonging to the Indians. Thus a highly dangerous precedent would be created. If Lawton, why should not other municipalities and even private corporations be given the right to condemn Indian, or even federal, property for their own purposes? Indeed this was boldly attempted in another of Secretary Krug's notorious bills that was designed to turn over to the pulp interests the Tongass Forest belonging to the Indians in Alaska.

**There have been** two earlier but fruitless attempts to beguile the Oklahoma Indians into parting with the land in question. Under the Morris bill it could be taken away from them despite their protests. Morris piously professes that not for the world would he do anything to harm the Indians who are his constituents. With or without his tongue in his cheek, he insists that the city of Lawton would use the land for park or other public purposes. But the Indians remember that, in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt, undoubtedly lulled by similar assurances, released to Lawton 160 acres of the land of these same Indians. The Indians were not paid a dime for their land. Once in possession of the property, Lawton devoted some seven of the 160 acres to "park or other public purposes," but the balance, somehow or other, found its way into the hands of real-estate speculators who made outrageous profits, none of which was shared with the Indians from whom the land had been feloniously acquired. With this unconscionable transaction in mind, the Indians suspect that the bulk of the 320 acres covered by the Morris bill would similarly become another juicy subdivision, to the profit of white speculators.

Senator Thomas, of Oklahoma, is reported to be considering accomplishing by a legislative rider what the white raiders now fear cannot be accomplished by the passage of the Morris bill. Senator Thomas' record as a speculator is well known, but it is difficult to understand why Representative Morris should wish to mar his record by supporting a bill that would violate the solemn trust under which the Indians are in possession of this property.

A particularly objectionable aspect of this ugly proceeding is the fact that Morris is chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs before which this bill is pending. Here we have the unpleasant spectacle of a packed court hearing a case. A more scrupulous court would disqualify itself.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## THE ETHICS OF A RATIONAL SOCIETY

**by Y. H. Krikorian**

JOHN DEWEY'S PHILOSOPHY has developed by several stages. The earliest shows the stamp of Hegelian thought, nor has this thought ceased to affect Dewey's general outlook. Some of his more individual philosophic concepts were clearly formulated as early as 1903 in his contribution to *Studies in Logical Theory*; but it was not till

RECONSTRUCTION IN PHILOSOPHY, by John Dewey (The Beacon Press; $2.75).

1920, when his *Reconstruction in Philosophy* was first published, that he presented his distinctive philosophy as a coherent whole. It was with this book that he fully launched his campaign for experimental philosophy.

The book was a rather sketchy one, and the form of its analysis was unlike that of most philosophic discussion; nor was it destined to rate among his greater works; but it had intense vitality and contained many eloquent passages. When it first appeared the impact was powerful; no reader could be indifferent. I recall that when in 1921 Dewey's book came up for discussion in a seminar at Yale, many were disturbed by its implications, while others felt intellectually liberated. One of the graduate students suggested that *Destruction of Philosophy* would have been a more appropriate title, since its author was challenging the very bases of the traditional forms of philosophy. The occasion for the present review is that *Reconstruction in Philosophy* has been republished with an additional and substantial Introduction, though without textual revision.

What should be the nature of the reconstruction the title suggests? For Dewey, philosophy arises from the conditions and conflicts of a given period. As he says in the Introduction, "the distinctive office, problems and subject matter of philosophy grow out of stresses and strains in the community life." And according to him, the central conflict with which the philosophy of our time must be concerned is between the growing power of the physical sciences and technology on the one hand and the lagging moral attitudes and social institutions of the pre-scientific era on the other. Some wish to keep the two spheres apart: science should investigate the physical aspects of the world; traditional religion and morality should control our basic beliefs and attitudes. Dewey's suggestion is both simple and far-reaching in its consequences. He insists that scientific inquiry should not be limited to the physical aspects of our experience but should invade and remold all areas of human activity—moral, religious and social. The dualism that weighs humanity down—"the split between the material, the mechanical, the scientific and the moral and ideal"—should be eliminated.

**One consequence** of his suggestion would be the adoption of experimentalism as the method for solving human problems. This method, obviously, would undermine authoritarianism with its various dogmas; mysticism with its unsharable intuitions; rationalism with its purely dialectic procedures; and classic empiricism with its isolated, immediate sensations. Dewey turns his back on all these historic methods and argues that experimentalism with its fruitful, confirmable hypotheses and with its self-corrective procedures is the only effective method for dealing with human affairs. To accomplish this aim he gives a much wider meaning to experimentalism than it has in the physical sciences, where it usually stands for laboratory techniques. He also frequently uses the term "intelligence," but intelligence for him is not a "faculty" to lay hold of ultimate truths, but "a shorthand designation for the great and ever-growing method of observation, experiment and reflective reasoning."

It is, of course, a now commonly accepted principle in the academic world that the scientific method should be used in the study of social problems, and Dewey had a big share in establishing this principle; but Dewey is concerned with more than this, and this more is far from having been established—namely, that the experimental method should be applied to everyday human tensions and conflicts.

Another consequence of accepting Dewey's suggestion would be the complete overhauling of the traditional basic philosophic ideas, which have been mostly extra-empirical and supranatural. The idea of Reality, for example, a favorite concept of philosophers, has been used to "designate something taken out of time—that is eternal"; for Dewey as an experimentalist it is change, activity, process. Reason, another favorite concept, was taken to be something over and above experience; for Dewey it is embedded in experience, it is experimental intelligence. In classic philosophy, the Ideal stands for changeless perfection; for Dewey it is a term that stands for possibilities that stimulate men to new efforts and realization. In *Reconstruction in Philosophy* and in his later books Dewey has made the heroic attempt to give an experimental and naturalistic account of all the major ideas of philosophy.

A final consequence of accepting Dewey's proposal would be the remaking—with the help of the newly forged experimental concepts—of moral attitudes and social institutions. This is the central motive of Dewey's whole philosophy. Dewey is the great protagonist of democracy and humanism. He is greatly concerned that the

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potentialities of science should be employed for progress—progress of the individual, and especially progress of society. In such an enterprise we should not be hampered by fixed, extra-temporal, extra-experiential standards and norms. Science has made change, "progress, free movement and infinitely diversified opportunity" possible. The only worthwhile end is growth, and the only justification of social institutions is that they "set free and develop the capacities of human individuals." For the attainment of this end the function of philosophy is to develop, to form, and to produce "the intellectual instrumentalities which will progressively direct inquiry into the deeply and inclusively human . . . facts of the present scene and situation." Yet such an end is not to be attained merely by philosophy, but by the "coöperative activities of men and women of good will . . . over an indefinitely long period."

**Though Dewey's** analysis was penetrating, his discussion had certain limitations. Because of his intense interest in human progress, he had not given sufficient significance to metaphysical aspirations. "Metaphysics," he maintained, "is a substitute for custom as the source of and guarantor of higher moral and social values." Yet there is nothing perverse in the human desire to get a total view of the nature of things. That such views are always bound to be partly mythical, partly rationalizations of social conditions, may be admitted; yet to get rid of a bad metaphysics one need not forgo all metaphysical ambitions. The task is to get a better one. In ignoring reflection on the vast non-human background, and in limiting thought to the social scene, there is a danger of narrowing philosophy. Dewey must have realized this, since later and especially in his major work, *Experience and Nature*, he developed an empirical metaphysics of great scope and depth.

And, again, Dewey in his desire to escape fixity, routine, the leaden hand of authority, had moved toward an extreme relativism. "Anything that . . . is . . . good at all, is of equal worth, rank and dignity with every other good." One could quote many similar statements. In the context of Dewey's discussion his extreme relativistic views were valuable. It is not so much what he said, but rather what he failed to say that is open to criticism. Certainly we do not wish ends that are superimposed, fixed, and absolutes-in-themselves; yet neither experimentalism nor progress needs reject relatively fixed, functionally stable ends. In experimental investigation certain facts are regarded as more fixed than others, and in human affairs certain ends are regarded as more significant than others. Was not Dewey implying as much when he said that "growth itself is the only moral end"? In his later writings he stressed more than most philosophers the place of criticism and evaluation in moral and social choices.

Dewey's philosophy will always be of great value. Being an experimental philosophy, it is not a finished system of ideas, but ideas in the making, and never claiming absolute finality. Though its basic concepts are firmly stated, this philosophy can be responsive to new evidence. Being a humanistic philosophy, it is not merely an abstract construction but an instrument for the remaking of morals and social institutions for the liberation of the human spirit. Dewey's philosophy is the intellectual expression of some of the basic and vital demands of contemporary American civilization. Since the first publication of *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, he has been the leader and spearhead of the experimental, naturalistic and humanistic movement in the philosophy of this country.

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## A WELL-BRED ROMAN

EPICURUS MY MASTER, by Max Radin (The University of North Carolina Press; $2.75).

THERE ARE certain thinkers whose dates are less important than their doctrines and whose teachings are less influential than their general Gestalt and general temper. Epicurus is one of these. Epicurus was a product of the late Greek world and he had a Roman audience. But what we now call Epicureanism has a timeless appeal. There are Epicureans in all generations, not simply in the loose and misleading sense of the word, by which is meant generally gluttons or exquisites, but in the serious sense which Epicurus gave it. That meaning has to do with the notion of a reasonable life in a chance and meaningless world, the blind movement of atoms in motion. It is the temper of what one may call humane materialism and has in all ages appealed to men of the world, especially to men living in a time of crisis, caught between the threats of rival powers.

**Max Radin,** learned in the law and wisdom of the Roman world, has produced in *Epicurus My Master* a tour de force at once impressive and delightful. He gives us an imaginary autobiographical memoir by Atticus, cultivated millionaire who in the year 32 B. C., having known the great contenders in the battle for imperial power, having remembered Sulla the Dictator, and now seeing Octavius and Antony as rivals for the imperial authority, having known republican corruptions and republican failures, has stood aside from political commitments and has managed, in his fastidious following of Epicurus, to remain friends even with mutual enemies.

I am not competent to say how closely Radin has followed the actual life of Atticus; it is clear that he has had to invent a great deal or most of what Atticus says. We know what Cicero wrote to Atticus; Radin tells us imaginatively what Atticus might have written to many and what he might have meditated to himself. Whatever the factual fidelity, the tone and temper of the book ring true. It sounds like the speculations of just such a gentleman Roman as we know Atticus was, just such an informed and unillusioned humanist, just such a fastidious Epicurean. These pages in prose, appropriately elegant and succinct, utter the thoughts of this and of any enlightened Epicurean who by intelligence has chosen, and by art has

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learned, to live a life of refined pleasure and of imaginative detachment.

Radin does not press his moral home too flatly or pointedly. He is himself an artist, and he lets this contrived memoir of a cultivated mind speak for itself and for the Epicurean in all ages, especially for the Epicurean in ages when rival bids for power have divided men into violent camps. As Lucretius feared the involvement of love, so Atticus feared the involvement of politics or avoided it because its drives and pressures, like love and religion, promoted fear:

> Our master, Epicurus, saved me from fear and the shadow of fear. That would have been enough in all conscience. But more than that he taught us that life was a whole which could be grasped by any enlightened man. Perhaps the chief difference between me and these others—I was not the only Epicurean in Rome—was that I grasped it and held it. Most of them grasped it and lost it, and spent their lives perpetually pursuing it.

**There is considerable** evidence that in the Roman world many lived by the semi-religious secular faith of Epicurean philosophy. Like others of his philosophy, Atticus regards "days lovely and pleasant" as success, and does not despise money, "which makes so many choices possible." One of the goods of life is exquisite sensation; therefore Atticus rather plumes himself on being a connoisseur. In a world where there is so much folly and turmoil, and in a universe where there is much meaningless chance, one of the values of detachment is the contemplation it makes possible, one of the values of contemplation is the detachment it induces. Like his fellow devotees of this tolerant and musing philosophy, he does not take the gods literally as powers, but values them as images of felicity, quiet, temperate and ordered, such as an Epicurean, were he himself eternal, would relish. "I have," the author makes Atticus say, "rejected power, foregone glory." These are tensions and disturbances to those who wield them as well as for those who live in their fearful shadow.

Above all, Atticus cherishes friendship, and above all others, that with Cicero, which might have been the perfect friendship of rational men loving rational goods, had both been a little more candid, free utterly of rivalry, a freedom which perfect friendship demands. Atticus knew what he wanted of life. So do his similars in our own day. The refined Epicurean recognizes lusts for power, the evidences of cruelty in the psyche of those who lead men, even in good causes. "It behooves us," Atticus writes toward the close, "to contrive to live somehow in a world where cruelty is prevalent."

Atticus, as represented in this persuasive and skilled book, managed to live, to be friends with the dictator Sulla, to be the friend of Antony and Brutus, to commit himself to neither Octavius nor Antony, to be sought out by Augustus. To live a reasonable life in a violent world is an achievement which, except that he had wealth as well as character, Atticus might not have managed. But whatever the morals of detachment from the evils of one's times, this book is an enchanting picture of one classically successful attempt at it, shadowed as is the Epicurean philosophy itself, by a sense of regret, and resignation, of wistfulness and of bereavement. IRWIN EDMAN

## JUDGES AND POLITICS

THE ROOSEVELT COURT, by C. Herman Pritchett (Macmillan; $5).

NO SINGLE PROFESSION can appropriately claim a monopoly of the best critiques of the Supreme Court. One calls to mind the excellent books of practising attorneys (Louis B. Boudin and Charles P. Curtis Jr.), the editorial writers (I. F. Stone and Max Lerner), the professors (led unquestionably by Edward S. Corwin), who have included several members of the present court and at least one Attorney General (now Justice Jackson). The works of these, our elder as well as recent contemporaries, have brought about a revival of interest in the Supreme Court; their predecessors were legion, if often less urbane.

Professor Pritchett is a member of the new school of non-lawyers who exercise their First Amendment right to argue constitutional law outside the courtroom. A teacher of political science in the University of Chicago, his annual statistical studies of the Court's decisions have for several years disclosed learning, humor and power of analysis. They have now resulted in a book which "undertakes to study the politics and values of the Roosevelt Court through the non-unanimous opinions handed down by its justices." It operates upon the realistic assumption that "the Supreme Court inevitably acts in a political context, and that the greatest danger to the Court, and from the Court, comes when that fact is inadequately realized."

**The author** discusses the large number of dissents by the Justices and the reasons for them. We tend to forget, if we ever knew, that the Supreme Court normally accepts cases of a novelty or importance which gives rise to a difference of viewpoint. Pritchett also reminds us that "the Court has [recently] presided over the destinies of the American constitutional system under conditions of unparalleled perplexity," *i.e.*, war or preparation for it, and that in the present period it is in "the unprecedented situation of being the most liberal branch of the government." Competent chapters are devoted to "Economic Regulation and Legislative Supremacy," "Civil Liberties and Judicial Supremacy," criminal law, administrative law and labor law.

If I may take the same liberty with Professor Pritchett that he has taken with the Court, I should describe him as an enlightened liberal, a master of metaphor and a cheerful critic of both the Frankfurter and Black schools of thought. His impatience with certain of Justice Frankfurter's views is well founded; it has already provoked sharp and, I think, unjustified attack from a former secretary of the Justice. For my part, I doubt the correctness of Pritchett's criticism of Frankfurter's excellent opinion in the *Hutcheson* labor anti-trust case. But his general analysis of the labor cases appears sound; the decisions of this term, not covered by the book, have amply con-

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firmed his fears for labor's cause before the Court.

The concluding chapter, "The Plight of a Liberal Court," states three reasons for the breakdown of the original unanimity of the present court: the difficulties and responsibility of holding power, the divided judicial tradition stemming from the different philosophies of Holmes and Brandeis, and the shortcomings of American liberalism as a going philosophy. It is certainly not enough to follow the precepts of former judges, great though they were. The production of a liberal philosophy of its own was a condition precedent to the growth of the New Deal. This philosophy failed to materialize in the presidency, in Congress and, as we see here, in the Court. That may help explain our general dislocation today. LEONARD B. BOUDIN

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## EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE

MODERN ENGLISH AND ITS HERITAGE, by Margaret M. Bryant (Macmillan; $5).

AMONG THE ARTS of communication now widely discussed, even the relatively forbidding subject of linguistics enjoys a certain popularity. A book like Margaret Bryant's will help to satisfy general curiosities about the English language in particular, as viewed by linguists. Usable as a textbook, with its abundant exercises and suggestions for study, it can also be pleasurably read by amateurs.

An introductory section surveys the development of our language out of its Germanic and Indo-European past. There is a competent and detailed account of its sounds and of the symbols used to represent them, both now and in the past. The section on word formation has the broadest public appeal. Vocabulary is usually the first topic of inquiry from laymen: where words come from, how new ones are formed, why meanings change. These questions are well answered by Miss Bryant. She handles semantics straightforwardly, as befits a linguist, avoiding the cultists' jargon which sometimes clusters about the term. At the same time, she remarks briefly on the schools of thought which use it to designate various theories of sociology, psychology and philosophy: a useful outline for those who may have been puzzled at semantic confusions on the word "semantics."

The section on grammar will be found most difficult especially if it is to be read without a teacher's guidance. The approach is refreshingly informal, to be sure, but some complicated problems are lightly touched upon and then prematurely dismissed. A number of terms are allusively described or not defined at all. More extensive use might have been made of recent special contributions, such as Benjamin Lee Whorf's concept of overt and covert grammatical categories, Bernard Bloch's compact reorganization of the English verbal inflections, and the analyses by several scholars of less formal sentence patterns such as presentations and segmentations. Problems of usage are discussed with undogmatic common sense. Many diverting illustrations are taken from the living language, not excluding its unconventional forms in slang and journalese. These are welcome reminders that language is shifting and alive about us, not moribund in pedagogues' handbooks. Miss Bryant's provocative examples might, however, have been put together in a more coordinated fashion.

Placing modern English against a background of its past evolution, the author is able to enjoy the advantages of both the diachronic (historical) point of view and the synchronic, which describes languages entirely and self-sufficiently in terms of their contemporary patterns. With her wide training and manifest ability, Miss Bryant might have permitted herself greater independence in her formulations. She contents herself with modest paraphrase of others on many occasions where her own scholarship would warrant an original, even an innovating, presentation. MARGARET SCHLAUCH

*Margaret Schlauch, professor of English at New York University, is the author of a book on Chaucer and several on linguistics.*

## FICTION PARADE

PLAYTIME IS OVER, by Clyde Brion Davis (Lippincott; $3.50).

A SUMMER'S TALE, by Gerald Warner Brace (Norton; $3).

THE JOURNEY OF SIMON MCKEEVER, by Albert Maltz (Little, Brown; $2.75).

THE THREE NOVELS listed are chosen almost at random from a stack of recent titles. None could be recommended, but the first two (and least worthy) should enjoy a marked popularity during the summer months. Those who admired Gerald Warner Brace's earlier book, *The Garretson Chronicle,* may wonder whether he has sold his name as a *nom de plume* to someone else.

*Playtime Is Over* is the retrospective diary of an aging soldier of fortune who has retired to an Arkansas farm to piece out "the jigsaw puzzle which is my life." His agricultural adventures alternate with his more exotic memories. These are most summarily suggested in his own words on the eve of retirement: "I am doubtless dead under the law of Brazil, officially dead in the United States Army, under sentence of death in Argentina and executed by a firing squad of Marines in Haiti. Betty in Buffalo also may have believed she murdered me. Judith could assume that a coronary occlusion has taken me by now. My name has been expunged by my family in Massachusetts. And tomorrow I shall have been forgotten in New Orleans."

In *A Summer's Tale,* a young professor is wrecked in his sloop off the coast of Maine and washed into an uncharted island. It is inhabited, all the same, by a "delightful" family that had its popular original in the Sangers of *The Constant Nymph.* These people are well-bred Bostonians during most of the year, but in the summer they make for their hereditary hideout to take up their legitimate role as pretenders to the throne of France. The castaway ingratiates himself by his democratic bluffness, romances (as new blood) with a daughter of the clan, and proves himself useful when

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their privacy is violated by the United States Navy.

*The Journey of Simon McKeever* is the long, painful hike of an old man from a home for the aged to Los Angeles in search of a cure for arthritis. It turns out he is incurable after all, but like Davis' hero, he has literary aspirations, so he returns to the home to spend his few remaining years of growing paralysis compiling an anthology about and for the Common Man.

The most offensive thing about these books is their pretension to profundity. By an unfortunate deficiency of skill, professional entertainers clutter their story with wastes of half-baked opinionating and self-consciously (perhaps ingratiatingly) awkward prosings on Life. The diary form of *Playtime Is Over* allows, of course, the most extensive digressions of this kind. "I am beginning to sense a pattern that may mean something": that's a secure basis from which to reach for significance. And the "ideas" of this rusticating roughneck include, to mention the first that come to mind, a character analysis of Huey Long and an approving discussion of *Generation of Vipers. A Summer's Tale* reflects, in the face of invasion, on isolationism, One World and related subjects. Maltz's message—poetical propaganda on the dignity of labor—is at least integrated in the character of McKeever, and only obtrudes when the old man is in a literary frame of mind.

What these writers lack in common is selectivity. The detail accumulates for its own sake in monotonous, self-indulgent writing; these novels, like all bores, tell everything. In Maltz's story, fact simply follows fact, plodding honestly, like McKeever's feet on his weary journey. (One would like to speak better of this book; the worst that can be said of it is that it is dull.) Brace allows himself catalogued descriptions of island habits and innovations which would tax the genius of Defoe. But again, the all-inclusive diary is the most fertile soil for this luxuriance; nothing is omitted: daily weather reports, grocery lists, impromptu recipes, sleeping habits. A further limitation in Davis' method might be mentioned. His diary never allows him to get beyond the mind of his hero; he is imbedded in his cliché sentiments, ideas and language. This lack of perspective is most embarrassing when the character analyzes his own conduct: "Sins of omission are so much more subtle than sins of commission and they can be disastrously cumulative. I am not trying to excuse myself for being a stinker. I am only trying to explain how one may drift into stinkerdom."

I would like to qualify these unpleasant criticisms. Going through this fiction to review it is not so much like reading three novels as being subjected to an unpleasant experience for an extraneous purpose, much as one submits, for the purposes of research, to the bite of the anopheles mosquito. And soon one becomes less attentive to the books themselves than to one's symptoms as a reader. I noted excessive fatigue, depression and grogginess, occasionally interrupted by feverish annoyance. JOHN FARRELLY

## THEATRE: The New Frontier

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

HAD AN AMERICAN visiting California in 1855 sent back East nothing more than his impressions of the San Francisco theatre he would have been justly set down as a fool. Although the analogy is hardly accurate, I feel a little foolish writing on the theatre in Tel Aviv. Israel as a nation has within a year become a new world in which the theatre plays only a tiny part.

I had little idea when I left on this trip which was to be simply a professional adventure—directing a play in foreign language in a "remote" land—that I was to encounter the spectacle of a civilization and culture in the process of birth. In one sense the making of Israel is more amazing than the 1917 upheaval in Russia. While the latter signified the building of a new kind of society by a hitherto suppressed class within an already formed nation, the Israeli phenomenon involves the making of a new people. It is evident from even the most superficial observation that the mingling, on a new soil and under entirely new social and legal circumstances, of Jews from all the ghettos and concentration camps of the European and Near Eastern world with the native Israelis will produce something hitherto unknown.

The immigrants from developed modern societies must now of necessity become "primitives" on still untried ground. The generation that was born in Israel (called *Sabras* because, like the cactus from which they get their name, they are said to be tough and thorny outside and sweet inside) cannot fail to be affected by the newly arrived settlers who will soon overwhelm them numerically. In the same way the European and Near Eastern Jews (from Turkey, Morocco, etc.) must be renewed not only by contact with the native Israeli youth, but by the marked differences among themselves. The now almost forgotten term, "the melting pot," comes to mind.

The immediate flavor of this new "melting pot" is one of a hard and buoyant youthfulness that seems to possess even the aged. The atmosphere contains ambition, hopefulness, impatience, dissatisfaction, here and there even a raw "disillusion" and something like cynicism. When such fervor characterizes a whole people you have a romantic society in a romantic epoch. To people everywhere—Gentiles as well as Jews—Israel will mean, on a smaller scale, what America meant to some Frenchmen after 1776, what Moscow meant to some Americans in the early thirties.

**In the face** of such a complex and novel background, it may after all prove safest to proceed from the particular to the general. So I return to the subject of the theatre. The Jews in modern times have everywhere evinced

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a strong feeling for the theatre, both as professionals and as audience. Tel Aviv, with a population of perhaps 250,000, has three permanent companies operating three separate houses, and in addition a group committed to topical satire in vaudeville form and a recently constituted opera company giving one performance a week in the Habimah building.

The regular companies work on a repertory basis. The oldest—Habimah—has a great success in a new play about the recent military struggle, called "In the Plains of the Negev." It alternates on the program with "Saul," a Biblical play just opened. The company is now rehearsing "A Midsummer Night's Dream" under an Anglo-Czech director, and under my direction is about to prepare the French "Montserrat," by Emanuel Roblès, which New York will see in the fall. The Ohel, a workers' theatre in the sense that it receives its main support from the central trade-union organization, is doing another Hebrew war play and an old-time Yiddish folk-operetta; it is also preparing "Cyrano de Bergerac." The Chamber Theatre is the youngest group, formed because its members encountered difficulty in getting into Habimah's venerable ranks. It is giving a dramatization of a contemporary Israeli novel called "He Went to the Fields," Priestley's "An Inspector Calls," Miller's "All My Sons," a contemporary Russian play, Beaumarchais' "The Barber of Seville"—and "Pick-up Girl."

The Hebrew National Opera Company (supported in some measure—like the theatres and the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra—by the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions) is presenting Massenet's "Thaïs" and "Manon," Rossini's "Barber of Seville" and Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann."

My next article will describe some of these theatrical productions. One can see from their titles alone that the theatre here follows no main line. It may take years for full-grown native drama to emerge. (America did not have a three-act O'Neill play till 1920, and there had been precious little worth mentioning before.) The dependence of the Israeli stage on the repertory of the world theatre—both a benefit and a disadvantage—is inevitable. There can be no line yet, no security of approach to the audience, because the audience is culturally so heterogeneous. In the Chamber Theatre some of the actors are still learning Hebrew. While the majority of the audience is familiar with the language, an increasing number will be Jews who know only the speech of their countries of origin—Russian, German, Hungarian, etc.—and Yiddish, the language of the dispersion.

**I cannot end** this first report without special mention of the opera company's performance of "The Barber of Seville." I had gone to see "The Barber" chiefly out of curiosity and remained to applaud. The singers, all young, had small but unusually good voices, and what a relief to see slender figures on the operatic stage! The orchestra, too, was small—partly because of the limitation of space in the pit—but it played well.

A youthful spirit was all-pervasive here—in the audience, which included many soldiers of both sexes, in the acting of principals and chorus, in the pleasant settings, in the lively and charming quality of the whole environment. One felt that opera in Hebrew was not only a usual thing but that opera is one of the most popular of mass-entertainment forms. Perhaps it takes a certain innocence to appreciate the sophistication of opera, just as only great naïveté or a profound understanding makes it possible to cope with such a society as Israel in 1949.

HAROLD CLURMAN

## ON THE AIR: Births and Deaths

IT LOOKED for a time as though "Child's World," one of the better radio programs, would survive the current carnage. On this ABC network feature, Helen Parkhurst interviewed youngsters and showed an uncanny knack for getting them to talk naturally about their problems. "Child's World" lasted exactly two years. For a few months, ABC even gave it television time. Then the TV show was killed, and next the radio program was telescoped from a half-hour to 15 minutes. Now (with the broadcast of June 27) it's off ABC. Broadcasters, and especially TV broadcasters, cry that they can't afford to nurse a public-service sustainer forever. If listeners feel differently, they know what to do. Some other network might grab this show if only one letter came in for each of the 215 stations that broadcast "Child's World."

**Abe Burrows,** a frog-voiced man who insists he once lived in Brooklyn, is coming up with a new CBS show. Presumably, Burrows will have assistants, for even he can't keep talking, playing the piano and singing his satires for 30 minutes without letup. But it will be his time. The show will be heard on July 4, and every Monday thereafter. The hour will be nine to nine-thirty at night; the title: "Breakfast with Burrows."

I hope CBS lets Burrows do his Norman Corwin takeoff. It's a rollicking number that satisfies the bloodlust of the many who hate Corwin and amuses the greater number who admire him at his best. Burrows might use this piece on his debut, as a plug for the Corwin documentary CBS will broadcast the following week.

Corwin's full-hour program, announced here a few weeks ago, has now been definitely scheduled for the evening of Sunday, July 10, at ten o'clock. It is entitled "Citizen of the World," and in it Corwin returns to the air audience that has missed him for two years.

On the same day, at 6:30, NBC starts getting even with its competitors for the havoc they wrought on its

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Sunday lineup. NBC's recent troubles began when ABC launched "Stop the Music." As soon as this grandfather of all giant swagbag programs cut into NBC's peak-time Hooperatings, CBS's William Paley started snagging NBC's expensive comedians, from Jack Benny down. Now NBC is fighting back. The new, Sunday-at-6:30 show is entitled "Hollywood Calling." It will use the telephone to give prizes, with a jackpot of $30,000. The inventor is Louis G. Cowan, the man who brought "Stop the Music" to ABC.

**One other event** in July concerns a local New York station which, in a sense, should be a national institution. The station is WNYC, owned by the City of New York. It is one of the truly great radio stations in the country, the only municipally owned outlet conducted on non-commercial principles yet giving all-around service to its community and acting as a model which, unfortunately, is not followed by those on the money side of the street.

WNYC will be 25 years old on July 7. Until 1934, it limped along under the responsibility of the Department of Plants and Structures. WNYC was established by politicians who hoped to use it for partisan purposes. Evidently they were neither good propagandists nor able technicians. Besides, there was the FCC. The station drowsed and the city held on to its license from inertia.

Immediately after his entrance as Mayor in 1934, LaGuardia started to take stock of the various municipal properties and stumbled on WNYC. The son of a local judge who had campaigned for LaGuardia seemed to be interested in radio, and LaGuardia liked him. So he gave the boy a job. His instructions were, in effect, "Get rid of that damn thing in six months."

The youth's name was Seymour N. Siegel, the station's present director. He had no intention of getting rid of WNYC, but he wondered for a time what he could do with it. Budget and staff were small; there was almost no equipment. When he wanted to play records, he had to borrow them from a phonograph shop and give an air credit—strictly speaking, a violation of the station's non-commercial license. Siegel telephoned David Sarnoff, and RCA-Victor donated 20,000 records. Paley of CBS made a sizable contribution too. The musical programs improved. Live talent was added, gratis. But LaGuardia still wanted nothing to do with WNYC.

One day, however, LaGuardia got into a tangle with the newspapermen covering City Hall. He charged them with misquoting him and refused to make any more statements for the press. But he couldn't keep quiet forever, and Siegel was trailing him everywhere with a WNYC microphone. Finally, LaGuardia started to broadcast. WNYC was made. Later, LaGuardia brought in Morris S. Novik. Between them, Novik and Siegel built the station into what it is today.

WNYC was the first station in the country to devote large segments of important time to serious music. Its American Music Festival, an annual event that lasts for twelve days, has brought to the air many dozens of premières of some of the best works of native composers.

When the United Nations moved to New York, WNYC opened its microphones and left them open. Other local stations, and some of the networks, also tuned in on the UN deliberations. Some lasted a few weeks, others several months. Only WNYC stuck with the UN. It's still there, broadcasting every delegate's speech from the Security Council and the General Assembly, and from some of the major subunits, whenever they are in session.

With the city administration always knee-deep in politics, WNYC has rarely been accused of partisanship—and such charges as were made never held up. WNYC has shown that a municipality can run a radio station with absolute fairness and without commercial ties.

WNYC now broadcasts on FM also. As soon as more television channels are opened, it will apply for a TV license. It is already experimenting with educational films suitable for TV. Anyone who doubts that radio can be


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run for the people need only study the operations of WNYC. The next step is to emulate it. I don't see how any town with a conscience can do without its local WNYC.

SAUL CARSON

# MOVIES

## Wild Pitch

THE FARCICAL NOTION in "It Happens Every Spring" is that a college professor, having stumbled upon a compound that causes a baseball to be repelled by wood, sells his pitching services to a second-division club and carries it triumphantly through the World Series. That is a fresh and promising idea, but like all whimsy it is exceedingly fragile. In this case, it dies from heavy handling.

Having invented the prank, the producers of "It Happens Every Spring" cannot devise any variations on it. Again and again they demonstrate that no one can hit the baseball, whereas the essence of such a joke is to keep it spinning like a kaleidoscope. They do try the secret formula as a hair tonic, but the result is more predictable than ludicrous and again they repeat it.

The timid-hero plot of "It Happens Every Spring" is the worn-out husk of a hundred stupid movies, and the star is ill-chosen. Ray Milland is not so versatile that he can abandon his hard and knowing manner for a comic naïveté. He looks and behaves like neither a chemistry professor nor a ball player. Paul Douglas, as Milland's catcher and chaperon (the owners suspect their marvel is nuts), gets considerable humor out of his oafish role, and Jean Peters plays the routine big sister-girl friend.

Finally, it is a good idea for a whimsy, however implausible, to be credible within its own premises. No big-league umpire would have let Milland get away with more than one pitch, and the ball does not behave as it would if it really were repelled by wood. Altogether, too many errors even for the bush leagues.


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There are some good individual performances in this fustian. Miss Robson is particularly impressive as a once beautiful and still intelligent woman fighting for her last love, and Peter Bull, made up to look like a dwarf monstrously grown to full size, makes George a frightening villain. But the picture smells of grease paint and creaks of whalebone. Françoise Rosay, as the Electress and mother of George, is so strapped in she can scarcely move, and that is no way to treat one of Europe's most exhilarating actresses.

**In "Night Unto Night,"** several variously maladjusted individuals adjourn to a haunted house on the Florida east coast and preach at one another the gospel according to Philip Wylie. High points in the sermon are that death is not the end, that science knows not the meaning of life and that love can cure everything, including very probably epilepsy. Ronald Reagan and Viveca Lindfors are the principal speakers.

Except for the irresponsible suggestion that epileptics are well advised to marry, the material here is familiar Wylie mystification. The author is a clever man who entertains himself by confusing the ignorant and impressing the unreflective. It is not the most admirable of pastimes, and in this case has produced the poorest entertainment imaginable. ROBERT HATCH

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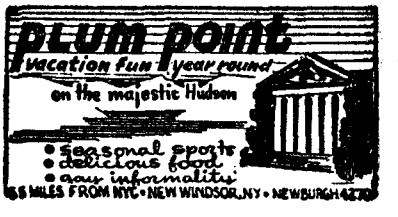
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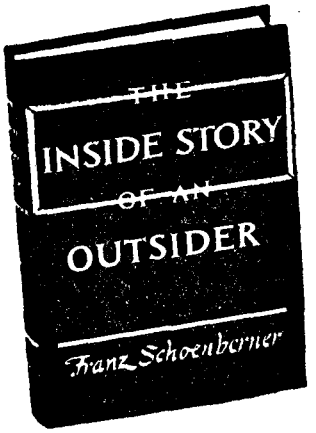


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